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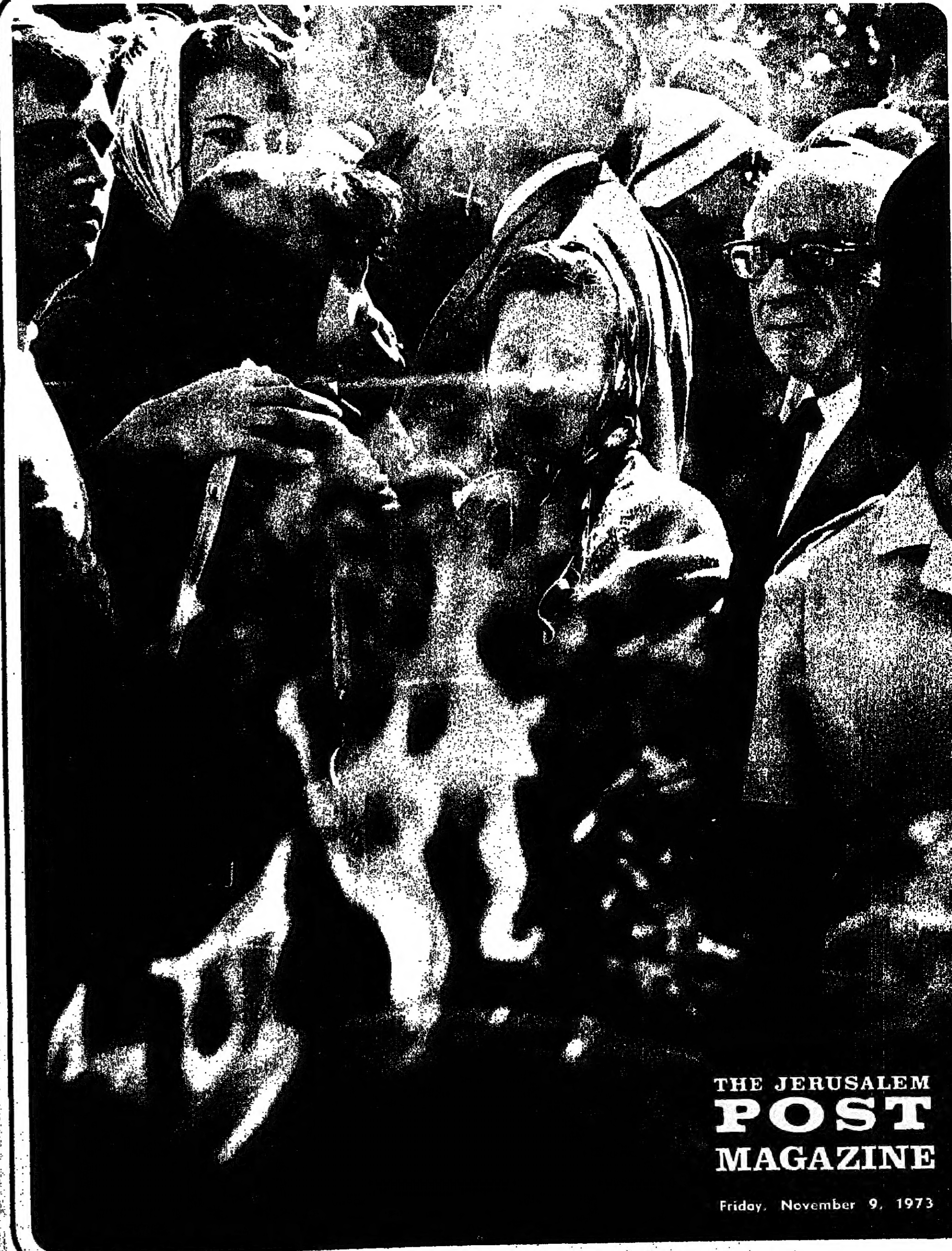


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THE JERUSALEM
POST
MAGAZINE

Friday, November 9, 1973

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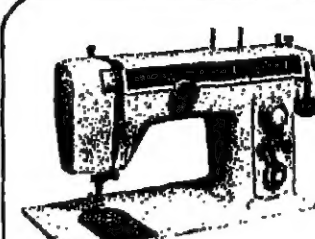
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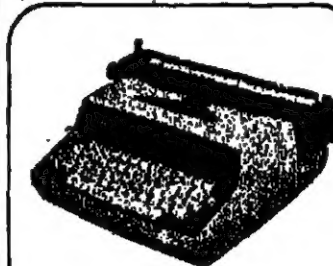
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THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE

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Cover picture: Memorial flame kindled at a war cemetery. (David Rubinger)

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MINI-METTERNICH IN CAIRO

Lea Ben Dor

ON WEDNESDAY morning a friend who is concerned with military strategy rang up. He works for a well-known and distinguished Jerusalem research institute, and he lectures to army groups. His views are often extreme and even extravagant, but this is the day of loud, fantastic politics. The views recorded here are his. I will call him X. "I read your advice to Kissinger for the Cairo meetings," X said, "that he should ask Sadat for the last line, the final border with Israel, and not the first one. You're right, but it doesn't go far enough. Let me tell you something about Kissinger..."

My phone keeps going silent since I dropped it, so X came over to tell his story. He settled into a chair. "You have to understand first of all that Kissinger is a mini-Metternich."

(Clemens Lothar Wenzel, Prince von Metternich, powerful Austrian Chancellor born in 1773, built the victorious alliance against Napoleon, and dominated the Congress of Vienna held to settle European rivalries after Napoleon's defeat. He liked to claim he was "a physician of sick governments." He also admitted, "I have controlled Europe frequently, Austria, never.")

"Metternich is Kissinger's hero and this idea of 'control' his dream. It is known that Metternich was a terrible liar. He used lies as an instrument of policy. Women too. He got Napoleon married off to an Austrian princess in the hope of forcing him to maintain friendly relations. If you are sufficiently powerful you can tell lies without being challenged."

Was Kissinger telling us the truth about the promises on prisoners and the blockade of Bab el Mandeb that he brought back from Moscow?

"I don't know what they told him. I am telling you only what I know, not what I might speculate about. Kissinger wanted both sides in the Middle East weakened. Then he would walk in and straighten things out. He helped save Sadat with a cease-fire when he was on the verge of defeat. That is not all. Early in the conflict Nixon had hoped the detente with Russia would serve to get the Russians to limit the arms they were sending to Egypt and Syria. When that failed, there was an assurance that we should get arms too. You remember what happened?"

The long delay. The Americans didn't want to use their own transport planes.

"Now that was Kissinger's work. Losses in equipment had been very heavy and the replacements were crucial. Kissinger said that the objections came from U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Clements, but they didn't. The story was manufactured for the benefit of Israel Ambassador Simcha Dinitz. Kissinger 'conferred' with Dinitz several times to make sure he would stop American jeers from protesting loudly against the delay. I have an idea for as it suited them. Kissinger was never taken in by Kissinger — that may account for the quite exceptional esteem which he is held in many North is just going on the rampage again, but as far as America and most of the world is

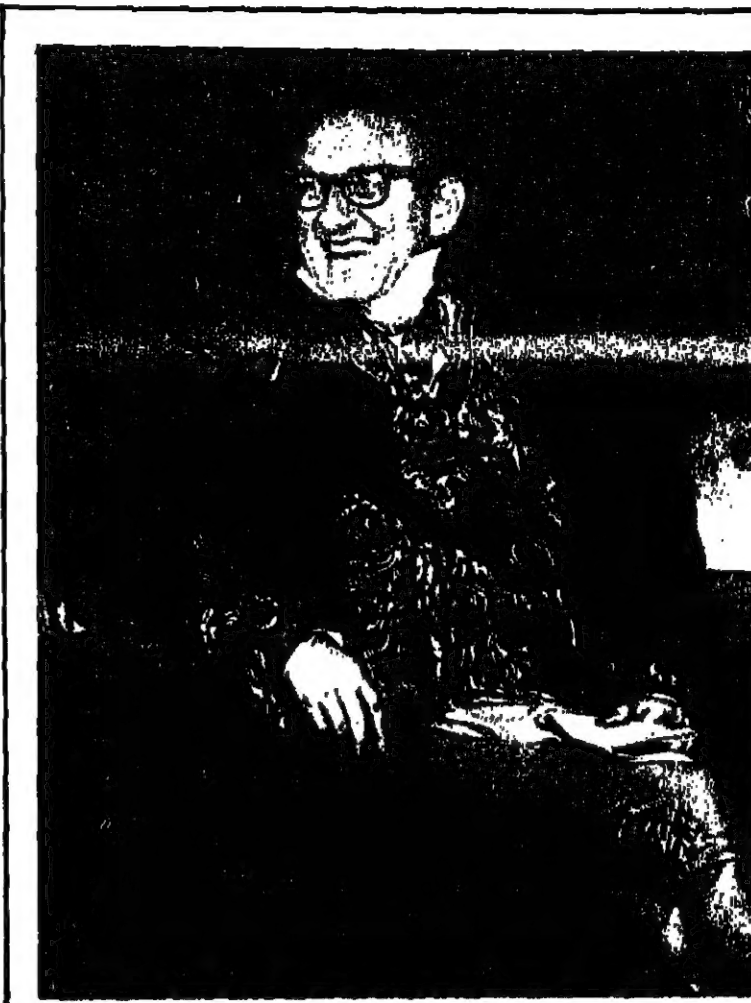
frantic scouting around for planes for the airlift went on for almost six days. Private carriers do not enter war areas with strategic cargoes. Then, according to X, Nixon intervened, with the help of pressure by several Senators. Suddenly American planes were available. The whole thing was grotesque. If America was prepared to commit herself to the extent of supplying the arms, what difference could the transport planes make?"

"What did Kissinger say? I don't know. There is a break in the relationship between him and Nixon. There is quite a possibility that Nixon may be forced to leave the White House, and Kissinger has sought a disengagement in the hope of being able to retain his own position with the next man. I think that unlikely. People are wary of him."

X then quoted a top U.S. Senator who says when he listens to Henry Kissinger he doesn't know whether he is more sinister or more ridiculous, whether he should laugh or be frightened.

"Don't misunderstand me. Kissinger really believes he knows better, that it is given to him to 'cure sick governments.' He is a manipulator, with Metternich-style ambitions."

"He got an undefined cease-fire in Vietnam, and you know what happened there afterwards, the North moved as it suited them. Kissinger got the Nobel Peace Prize, so did Le Duc Tho, the North Vietnam Politburo man. The



lished diplomatic relations between Egypt and the U.S.)

Why did Kissinger go out of his way several times to repeat that he had checked with Israeli intelligence sources just before the war and had been assured there was no immediate threat?

"I don't know. But if I were to speculate I might say that he wanted to make sure of an alibi. Whatever happened, then or later, he wanted to tell the world that he had been most concerned for Israel security."

"The delaying tactics over the arms lift had been stopped by Nixon, but there was still the argument over the so-called cease-fire line of October 23, when there were no real lines anywhere and over prisoners. I am profoundly sorry for the families whose soldiers are missing and for the men themselves. It is the worst of all fates. But it was a dangerous mistake to hand over to the Arabs. If they fire frogs rockets into Kiryat Shmona we can retaliate by dropping bombs on Damascus — and stop the frogs — but they know we will not retaliate against their prisoners, even if they are. It is a weak point, and they will exploit it."

(We had not yet seen the reports in that day's afternoon papers of the numbers of Israeli prisoners of war believed to have been murdered in Syria. It was also some hours before Kissinger met Sadat in Cairo, won his friendship in three hours, and re-established diplomatic relations between Egypt and the U.S.)

"When Kissinger was about to

start on his visit to the Arab capitals, the stories began to appear about atomic weapons that might be sent to Egypt by the Soviets. This is exactly the kind of misinformation, red herring, whatever you want to call it, that a man of Kissinger's calibre might use, Metternich-style. You try to weaken the Israelis and when they still fight their way through, you try to frighten them."

X then referred to a dispatch from Erwin Frankel on the front page of that day's Post, in which Frankel quotes a pessimistic view taken by some U.S. officials: if Israel's forces west of the Canal were surrounded, it might threaten atomic action, and the Soviets would retaliate. He spat it out.

"The Russians would not dare take any atomic weapon to Egypt. They don't trust the Egyptians. At the first suspicion that an atomic weapon was on their territory they could mobilize 5,000 commandos, overrun the Russians, take the A-bomb or whatever it is, and fire it into Tel Aviv. Could the Russians take that risk? And what for? To save Sadat, who is their political enemy? It is Kissinger who wants to save Sadat, the man who threw out the Russians once. The Russians are really quite prepared to wait a while longer, to drop Sadat, and to clear the way for Ali Sabry, who is their man. In 1956 we swallowed an American piece of misinformation about Soviet pilots in Syrian planes who were about to bomb Tel Aviv. This was sedulously supported by the Russians, who hurried all their diplomats out of the city. You guess who saw to it that the atom bomb story be put out in Washington."

X laughed suddenly, and observed that we have a little line in misinformation too. "We sent Abba Eban to Rumania to frighten the Russians. The Rumanians decided they would show Moscow how independent they are, and we thought they would hint that all sorts of deals are in the making that the Russians don't even know about. Eban himself has not suggested there were any talks or signposts. After all, he cannot have been sent just to paper over the fact that Golda did not choose to ask him to come to Washington with her. He is our red herring. There are all kinds of ways of dealing with an enemy. During World War II the Germans built a whole dummy airfield, all complete with plywood planes and hangars. And what did the British do? Send one single plane and drop a wooden bomb. Very economical and talking even if the Germans have no sense of humor. Eban was our wooden bomb."

X said he thought what Kissinger was really interested in was Europe.

"The rulers of Europe have not caught onto it yet, but the Arabs have overreached themselves. Fear and hate of the Moslems has died down over the past 300 years, but now it has been brought back to life. One of the American papers, the New York Times, I think wrote that Gaddafi said 'Europe is a natural extension of Africa and Arabia, and they ought to be converted to Islam.' That sort of talk will pass, for a while, as long as there is no direct conflict, but it is quite a different matter when it is combined with sudden profiteering on oil, with a special slap to Holland or Denmark, in what is obviously quite arbitrary a manner."

"France is still getting top marks from the Arabs for having been the first to turn on Israel, but how long before they discover some tiny flaw in her policy?"

"They are promising to retaliate against pro-Israel newspapers and radio stations. How long will people put up with constant threats? Marcel Dassault, the manufacturer of the Mirages first sold to Israel and now to Libya, and used by Egypt in this war, has begun to protest in the name of industry and there is much support, a groundswell. The Arabs are raising long-dead spirits from the grave."

"There has been something like a revolt in the British parliament. The Shah of Iran, a moderate by comparison, has warned that the oil states want a share in the prosperity of the industrialized states that use their fuel. Israel is not the cause of this trend, but rather the last bulwark against a 'Soviet-Arab Middle East.' De Gaulle scornfully called the European leaders 'a bunch of tradesmen,' and tradesmen have always been very vulnerable to robbers."

What about Germany in this crisis?

"Brandt tried his best, but he has to work with Nato and with France. It was no time, no sense, to stand on our rights... we could have painted over the names of our ships and saved a crisis."

"The French are betraying Europe by building up a separate Arab policy to aggrandize themselves and to fix the U.S. and Moscow."

(X used a ruder, sharper term.) "They don't understand that the Arabs are non-treatable... they will never keep an agreement, seeing it only as a step to achieving their ultimate aim. Like Algeria."

"It was France, not Libya, that prepared the plan for Uganda to break relations with Israel."

What is your proof?

"They have been accused of it, and never denied it. But they did us a favour. Who wants to have relations with Idi Amin? If it had been up to our Foreign Ministry, we would still have to smile politely at African leaders who are killing off their intellectual elite, or who personally beat prisoners to death. Both African and Indian writers have protested that some of the African leaders 'make Portugal and South Africa look good'. They are really embarrassing allies. We should have broken with them when they disavowed us at various African conferences. "The army may have been unwilling to recognize the Egyptian threat, but that is nothing to the extent to which the Foreign Ministry was unwilling to accept unfavourable reports from Africa. It's all there in the files. We failed to look reality in the face, and this gave them the opportunity of treating relations with us while we were fighting a war and in need of support."

"What will happen? Yihye tov. It will all work out."

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THE SOVIET UNION has been playing a most serious and even risky role in the latest Middle East conflict — a more direct and serious role than most observers anticipated. This role must be viewed against the background of Soviet concerns with the area before the outbreak of the war.

THE MAJOR SOVIET INTEREST in the Middle East has been, and remains, bases — naval bases, port facilities, air bases for strategic reasons and for support for the Soviet Mediterranean fleet. Additionally, Soviet interests in the area include a general and traditional concern for the region to the south of the Soviet Union, and specific interests — economic, political and strategic — in the Suez Canal, in the Indian Ocean, and, of course, in the oil-rich Persian Gulf. The Soviet Union is not itself dependent upon Middle Eastern oil — there are conflicting views as to Russia's future energy needs — but the fact that it is vital to Western Europe and Japan makes it a matter of great interest to the Kremlin.

It was to secure their aims in the Middle East that the Soviets poured in aid and arms to Egypt, especially 1963-64 (when the USSR formed its Mediterranean fleet) and onwards. The Soviets not only supplied the Egyptians economically and militarily (on credits which, for the most part, were never paid), but also built a number of significant air bases and port facilities for Soviet use.

There was always, however, one major limiting factor to Soviet behaviour in this region: the possibility of a direct Soviet-American military confrontation. Thus, when in 1970 the escalation of the war of attrition put Soviet pilots into the air and the advanced SAM missiles on the ground, with reluctant U.S. expressions of concern, the Soviet Union supported the idea of a cease-fire.

The desire to avoid a military confrontation with the U.S. also lay behind Soviet problems with Egypt (and later Syria) in 1971 and 1972. These were probably an inevitable development, given the intensification of Egyptian nationalism, coincident with the growth of the Soviet presence in Egyptian society (in the government, the ruling party, the secret police and the army). Resentment grew over the restraining role played by the Soviets with regard to Egyptian hopes for action against Israel.

These conflicts came to the fore in May, 1971, when the Soviets were removed from most of their positions inside Egyptian institutions, and Soviet-Egyptian relations began to show signs of serious deterioration. It was to combat the effect of such a deterioration on Soviet bases and facilities in Egypt that Moscow initiated a treaty of friendship with Cairo. This did not offer Egypt the assurance of outright Soviet military support in the event of war with Israel; it provided only for "consultations" in the event of the danger of war and for on-going promises of material aid. The treaty came to save something for the Soviets, to provide a framework for their presence; it was not, as some interpreted it at the time, a sign of a strengthened Soviet-Egyptian relationship but rather a measure designed to place their relations on a less precarious, albeit more modest, foundation.

BY JULY, 1972, however, the Egyptians could no longer tolerate the Soviets' continued "restraint." Whatever the internal Egyptian factors involved, there were two major issues between the two allies: the reluctance of the Soviet Union to supply Egypt with the most sophisticated and up-to-date of its weaponry; and its refusal to support the idea of an Egyptian crossing of the Canal. At the time of the split, the Egyptians made reference only to the first issue, and most observers accepted this view. It was my contention then, and still is now, that the major issue was, in fact, the second.

THE SOVIETS AND THE YOM KIPPUR WAR

Galia Golan



THE RUSSIANS were understandably fearful that an Egyptian invasion of Israeli-held Sinai might jeopardize the prospects of détente (at that time moving along nicely) and, more important, entail the danger of a military confrontation between the super powers.

Asked by Sadat to remove their "advisers," the Soviets had no choice but to comply. This relative docility was interpreted by many as a sign that the Soviets had been interested in leaving Egypt anyway, that they had revised their Middle East strategy, and were no longer interested primarily, if at all, in Egyptian bases. It is true that there have long been opponents within the Kremlin to the risky (and costly) Soviet involvement in the Middle East, but the withdrawal from Egypt was not, as such, proof that their views had prevailed.

It had long been clear that if asked to withdraw the Soviets would have little alternative but to comply; any attempt to remain by force, or a show of force, would have seriously impaired their efforts elsewhere in the Middle East; it would have involved an expensive and ultimately unfruitful effort to rule a hostile country a continent away; and it would have created the danger of an American response.

THE SOVIET REACTION, then, was not really surprising and did not in my view, indicate a loss of Soviet interest in Egypt. Admittedly the Russians did not hasten to repair relations with the now difficult Sadat, and they did seek stronger positions elsewhere in the area (Syria, Iraq). But they did not renounce, or entirely neglect, their hopes of reestablishing their position in Egypt. Despite the decline of her authority among the Arab nations after Nasser's death, Egypt remained a key state in the area.

This is not to say that the Kremlin was of one mind about the right policy in the Middle East. Some high Soviet officials are known to have opposed direct involvement in the area because of the risk of confrontation with the U.S. or because of the unreliability of the Arabs as a "client," or because of the bourgeois nature of the Arab regimes benefiting from the Soviet support, as distinct from the Communists in the area or even the national liberation movements — i.e. the terrorists.

On the other hand, there are indications that some Kremlin leaders thought Russia was not doing enough for the Arabs militarily, that the Soviets should be more directly involved in the area and should seek greater influence over the Arab states. At the same time, it must be remembered that the major bone of contention within the Communist Party's Politburo and Secretariat over the past two or three years has not been the Middle East, or even the Sino-Soviet dispute but, rather, détente with the U.S. And it may be that it is within the context of the in-

ternal Soviet debate over détente that one must view Soviet behaviour in the present Middle East crisis.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT that the Soviet Union, which had armed and trained Egypt and Syria for an eventual war on Israel, was aware of the Arab plan for an attack at this time. That the Soviet Union planned this war with Egypt and Syria, or even approved it, is not, however, so certain. Indeed it is more likely that the Soviets maintained their earlier reservations regarding such a move, modifying their 1971-2 position only to the point of no longer actively opposing the plan.

In other words, the Soviet Union did not want another war in the Middle East but found it necessary, and possibly even expedient, to refrain from giving the Egyptians an ultimatum or interfering in any way with the plans. This may have been the lesson learned by the Russians in July, 1972, if Moscow intended to secure and develop its interests in the Middle East, it could not afford to oppose the Arabs on this course, however dangerous it might be for the Russians. One may speculate that the U.S.S.R. promised diplomatic and indirect military aid, in the form of arms supplies, but made it clear that Soviet forces would not become directly involved in the conflict.

Whatever Moscow's attitude towards the war, once begun it had little choice but to provide for the military needs of its clients — if it intended to keep them as such. There are a number of interesting things about the nature of this aid, however, and there can be several views about the dynamic of escalation it occasioned. Soviet ships presumably carrying military equipment began to arrive in the area on the second and third day of the war — a fact interpreted as an indication that the Soviet Union was prepared for the war and planned its own role. At the very least, it is an indication that Moscow did not stop its usual military supplies; or that — going further — aware of pending hostilities, it was willing to begin its sea-lift early. The beginning of the Soviet air-lift is less clear: press and official reports date it from Wednesday, October 10; but it may have begun for Syria on Monday, October 8.

There is one hypothesis that the Soviet Union appraised the relative ability of the armies in the area much as did the U.S. and Israel — i.e., that Israel would quickly dispose of the Egyptian and Syrian attacks — and that surprised at the initial Arab successes; it responded with the air-lift in the hope of further success. Whether one accepts this hypothesis or not, the facts are that the Soviets began speaking of a cease-fire on Sunday, October 7. Thus, on that day at least, they thought the Arabs had achieved their objectives and would benefit from a cease-fire. They may or may not have changed this position over the following days, but whatever their position, the Arabs obviously were not ready for a cease-fire during the first week.

There was very little chance of the Russians pressing for a cease-fire without Arab agreement, for the Chinese were waiting in the wings to veto any such proposal in the Security Council so long as the Arabs wanted to continue fighting. Yet Soviet support for the Arab cause in this early stage of the war was moderate. Military supplies were arriving in plenty, but the diplomatic and propaganda efforts were relatively mild. There was movement of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, but in itself did not constitute a sign of intention to intervene directly.

The Soviets also began a gradual increase of the number of ships in their Mediterranean fleet, but at this stage the type of ships, in any way with the plans. This may have been the lesson learned by the Russians in July, 1972, if Moscow intended to secure and develop its interests in the Middle East, it could not afford to oppose the Arabs on this course, however dangerous it might be for the Russians. One may speculate that the U.S.S.R. promised diplomatic and indirect military aid, in the form of arms supplies, but made it clear that Soviet forces would not become directly involved in the conflict.

A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS may be useful from here on. On Monday, October 15, the Egyptian offensive in Sinai failed. The following day Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin arrived in Cairo. One may speculate (and the signs are all there) that he went to persuade the Arabs to accept a cease-fire before incurring further losses. On October 18 Israeli forces linked up with the task force on the west bank of the Canal, and it became clear to all that a massive operation was in course. At this point one may assume that Kosygin convinced the Egyptians that they had no alternative but to accept an immediate cease-fire or suffer severe losses and probably ultimate defeat. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was then "invited" to Moscow, and the urgency of a cease-fire impressed upon him, according to some reports, in the form of an ultimatum that the Soviet Union would itself intervene if the fighting continued. It is not clear whether it was at this time or several days later that Soviet troop carriers with marines entered the Mediterranean. Whatever the date of this move, the very threat to Kissinger constituted serious escalation of the super powers' involvement.

One may only speculate, again, as to why the Soviets became so concerned. They may have feared that Israeli forces planned to move towards Cairo (Damascus was already moving into Israeli artillery range) or at least to hit Egyptian industry, and ports, or even Soviet facilities. More likely, they were anxious to prevent an Egyptian military defeat, which would have endangered Sadat's regime, and forced its replacement by a government, which, under the circumstances, could only be less favourable to the Russians. That the Soviets actually intended to intervene at this point is very doubtful, but the threat was plausible enough for Kissinger to waste little time in proceeding to Moscow and a cease-fire decision resulted with little delay.

As we well know the Security Council decision did not end the fighting or even the superpower crisis. On October 23 and 24 the Soviet Union began moving airborne troops from Hungary — destination unclear — while demanding that the cease-fire be honoured and promising that Soviet troops would come to ensure this. The apparently stated in no uncertain terms the Soviet intention to destroy Israel if the fighting did not stop. This was indeed the most puzzling and serious escalation of the superpowers' role in the war.

The U.S. response was to be expected: assuming that America did not want massive Soviet troops in the Middle East and/or the destruction of Israel, Nixon could not take the risk that the Soviets were merely bluffing. Indeed, the air-lift to the Arabs ceased and the Soviet threat was made more credible by the release of these planes for the transport of their airborne divisions. The Soviet reaction to the Americans' further escalation — the American statement that it was the only possible one of World War III. The Soviets reacted on the issue of Soviet troops and sent merely a token group of some 60 to 70 "observers."

THE REASON FOR THE CRISIS of October 23-5 may have been further appeals from Sadat, particularly in response to the fighting of October 23, in the hours before the second cease-fire. The Soviets may have miscalculated the extent of the U.S. commitment in the area, and they may have underestimated Nixon's ability to act behind the scenes. Yet the American short certainly demonstrated U.S. intentions and, thus, tends to rule out miscalculation on the part of the Russians.

Their continuing threats are intended not, as earlier, as signals of intentions to intervene, but rather as pressure to maintain the crisis atmosphere so as to achieve the desired concessions from Israel via the Americans. Such a risky course of action, which clearly has impaired U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations for at least a short time, comes, suggests that certain forces in the Politburo may have gained the upper hand over Brezhnev and Kosygin's détente-first instincts.

Yet one must remember that with all their threats, the Russians' intervention remained indirect: movements of their Mediterranean fleet, air patrols, radar facilities, and arms supplies. This is no guarantee that the threats were only a bluff, but the Americans were sufficiently concerned not to ignore them and it would hardly be sane to test them.

WHAT DO THE Soviets want now? It is of course, impossible to do more than speculate. They are committed to achieving an Israeli withdrawal to the June 4, 1967 lines and it is unlikely that they will abandon the Egyptians at this time. Yet the risks involved, the blow to détente, and the real danger of World War III which emerged in recent weeks may have convinced the Russians of the necessity of a peace settlement, accompanied, perhaps, by the arms control provisions demanded by the Americans. Thus it is my estimate that the Soviets are interested in an imposed agreement provided it brings about an Israeli withdrawal. However, with Israeli forces in the positions they now occupy, little but peace is feasible if the Soviets are to avoid war with the Americans.

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THE FUTURE OF DETENTE

For the Kremlin, the latest Arab-Israel war may well mean that some, at least, of the aims of détente can be achieved faster by the opposite means. This assessment of the much-touted American-Soviet rapprochement is offered by MARTIN van CREVELD.

TWICE in the last three years the Nobel Prize for peace has gone to statesmen primarily associated with the "defrosting" of relations between the world's Great Powers. In 1971, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt received the prize in recognition of his so-called *Ostpolitik*, which aimed at reducing the tension between the Federal Republic and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. This year's prize is going to American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger who, perhaps more than anybody else, has contributed to the improved atmosphere between the three Great Powers. Even while the announcement was being made, however, the Middle East war was threatening to tear Kissinger's work to pieces; it is therefore supremely important to try to examine the impact on détente of the recent events in our region.

Obviously, the first premise behind détente is the existence, or at least the presumed existence, of more than two Superpowers. History shows that no two Great Powers facing each other within a given international system (an international system consists of frequent contact, either friendly or hostile, with each other) have ever been able to get on well together for any length of time; the very fact that there were only two of them, it seems, necessarily led to confrontation.

In the ancient Middle East, two Superpowers, Egypt and the Hittites (later, Egypt and the Babylonians and Assyrians), confronted each other over what is now Syria and Palestine. Within the very small international system that was ancient Greece, Athens inevitably confronted Sparta, with each side trying to obtain allies from among the lesser cities. Within the world-embracing system that emerged after the Second World War, Russia willy-nilly confronted the United States.

Three, or preferably more, Powers of approximately equal size are needed to establish a tolerable climate, if only because the existence of a number of Powers will cause each of them to try to attract as many allies as possible from among the others. Hence, the most peaceful periods of history have been those when several Powers existed within a given international system, as happened, for instance, in 19th-century Europe. Hence, too, the fact that our present détente coincides more or less with the recognition of Communist China, alongside the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., as a World Power.

FROM the Soviet point of view, détente has several advantages. From 1945 to about 1969, the Kremlin conceived the main threat to Russia's security as coming from an "imperialist" United States, aided by a supposedly German-led "revanchist" Europe. The result of these fears was the establishment of two rival systems, respectively grouped in NATO and the Warsaw Pact, facing each other, teeth bared, across minefields and barbed wire. Recently, however, the threat from the West has been fading; Mao's China is increasingly re-

placing the U.S. in the Soviet leaders' nightmares. The Soviet-Chinese conflict, dating from the conquest of Russia by the Mongols under Genghis Khan, has much deeper historical roots than the one between Russia and the West. At stake are territories of spreading over hundreds of thousands of square miles, and the tension is fanned by an ideological rift over the apostolic succession to Marx, marked by a bitter struggle peculiar to a fight between a Church and its heretics. In view of growing Chinese power, the Soviets have everything to gain from an improvement of their relations with the West that will free their rear.

LOOKED at through Russian eyes, détente also aims at dismembering NATO. Ever since the 1917 Revolution and the subsequent intervention by France, Britain and the United States in the civil war, the Soviets have been obsessed by fear of a capitalist alliance directed against them. In NATO they see just such an alliance. In an attempt to loosen the ties that bind Europe to the U.S., the Kremlin has recently been trying to convince the Europeans that they have nothing to fear from the Russian bear. In view of the prevailing atmosphere of détente, the Soviets are telling Europe that NATO is no longer necessary; rather than rely for their security on the dubious support of a remote U.S., the Europeans would do much better to place their trust in closer relations with a U.S.S.R. that is prepared to co-exist with them. That this line of reasoning has met with some success is proved by the fact that, in recent years, one European leader after another has made the pilgrimage to Moscow.

Finally, there are economic reasons behind Russia's desire for détente. In spite of Khrushchev's 1960 promise to "bury" the capitalist world, the gap between Russia and the West has not diminished during the last decade. On the contrary, a technological revolution has transformed the West and left the Russians far behind in practically every field except the purely military.

An American surgeon had to be called in recently to perform an open-heart operation on no less a person than the President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; and last week's "Newsweek" carried the story of a dirty trick played by the Russians on a visiting Japanese television crew in order to get hold of their equipment. Yet such pinpricks, as Mr. Brezhnev knows very well, cannot do much to diminish the technology gap; on the contrary, they serve to highlight it. In its drive for better relations with the West the Kremlin hopes to gain access to Western, above all American, technology.

How has the recent war affected these three Russian motives for détente? First, the crisis has proved that, however much supposedly German-led "revanchist" Europe. The result of these fears was the establishment of two rival systems, respectively grouped in NATO and the Warsaw Pact, facing each other, teeth bared, across minefields and barbed wire. Recently, however, the threat from the West has been fading; Mao's China is increasingly re-

effectively. Forced to fall back on mere words, the Chinese representative at the United Nations cursed the Americans and damned the Russians, only to end up in a demonstration of impotent rage by refraining from voting on the cease-fire resolution. Nor did this prevent the other two Superpowers from reaching agreement over China's (and everybody else's) head and pushing it through the rubberstamp of the Security Council within 24 hours of Kissinger's journey to Moscow. But let us not be deceived; the fact that this war has proved, if proof were required, that there are only two Superpowers will do nothing to promote détente.

Secondly, recent events have shown that, if détente is one way to help dismember NATO, continued tension in the Middle East is a much more effective one. The present cold war between the U.S. and its European allies, ultimately based on the fact that America can do without Arab oil while Europe (and Japan) cannot, has sent NATO reeling as it has not done since de Gaulle took the French contingents out of it back in 1964. If, in the past, the Russians relied on diminishing international tension to bring out the differences within NATO, they have now learnt that increased tension can achieve the same goal much more quickly. More pressure in the Middle East, even at the cost of further difficulties with the U.S., may serve to break up NATO even without the Soviets doing anything in reply, such as reducing their forces stationed in Eastern Europe.

Finally, the Soviets may also be about to conclude that détente has failed to bring them the hoped-for benefits of American technology. Although President Nixon has long been trying to make Congress grant the Russians trade advantages in the form of a most-favoured-nation status (which would put U.S.-Soviet economic relations on a par with U.S.-European ones), Congress supported by a large part of public opinion, has balked. Watergate and its concomitant scandal have done nothing to strengthen Nixon's standing with Congress, and rather than risk the failure of his motion, the President has now withdrawn it. Thus the Soviets see the third main benefit they expect from détente also slipping through their fingers.

RECENT developments have clearly demonstrated that neither of the two Superpowers is willing to go for an all-out confrontation; but, short of that, complications resulting from the Middle East war may well lead Moscow to conclude that détente has not been saving its ends, and, moreover, that some at least of these ends can be achieved faster by the opposite means.

The basic mainstay of détente was demolished when China proved largely a paper tiger; the dismemberment of NATO has been discovered to be as feasible by increased international tension as by détente, if not more so; and the economic advantages of détente seem further removed from the Kremlin's grasp than ever. These considerations may well cause Moscow to assess its policy in the near future; a possibility that bodes ill for Mr. Brezhnev, the Middle East, and the world.



Secretary Brezhnev and President Nixon in Washington last June during the honeymoon period. (Below) Chou and Mao: paper tigers?



LIFE WITHOUT A LIMB

LEA LEVAVI visits a hospital with three veterans who are helping disabled soldiers to face the future.

IF A DOCTOR or nurse tries to persuade a disabled veteran that he will be able to live a normal life despite the loss of a limb, or some other permanent disability, the patient may find it hard to believe. But if he is visited by a disabled veteran who has learned to live with a similar handicap — and who can talk to him about both the trials and the triumphs that lie ahead — the idea of a "reasonably happy ending" does not sound so much like a fairy tale.

Since the beginning of the war, members of the Israel War of Independence and Zahal Disabled Veterans Organization have been visiting hospitals, trying to encourage those wounded soldiers who will be permanently disabled and who are already physically able to receive visitors.

At first, the organization's members visited in groups representing as many different handicaps as possible. Today, however, each visitor is more or less on his own, establishing contacts with patients whose disabilities are the same as, or similar to, his own.

I visited Bellinson Hospital with three members of the organization's six-man team there: David Bar-El, a 48-year-old sociologist who lost a leg in the Six Day War; Yedidia Berry, a 42-year-old lawyer who was seriously wounded in the War of Independence and "according to all medical logic shouldn't be alive," and Yoram Knoll, who lost a leg in a skirmish in 1970.

All three emphasized that their visits were only a small part of the care given to the wounded soldiers. The nurses, after all, work 12-hour shifts and do not look at the clock. From their own experience, and from what the soldiers tell them, the three men can testify that the nurses "give not only all they can but even more than that." Doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists, volunteers, army personnel and many others all are more than eager to help.

"We think we can perform a particular service," David said. "After all, we can't serve in the army any more. This is our contribution. If I can walk into one of those rooms and let the fellows see that I can walk upright, I think that helps them a lot. But I also don't try to hide the problems. If I tell them 'everything will be all right,' I have to be honest and explain that it will be all right in a different way from before. I can't run. In the rain, for instance." And when I can go over to a soldier's bed and tell him the story about how I'm not supposed to be alive," said Yedidia. "That gives him confidence that he'll pull through, too."

MANY OF THE PATIENTS seemed almost too confident.

"I lost both legs but I know I'm going to go on living just like before as soon as I get my prostheses."

"But did you remember to order a supply of patience?" one member of the visiting team chided.

"Hey, something really great happened to me today," the patient continued. "I think you're one guy who will understand what I mean. Until now, I've been screaming like hell down in physiotherapy, the pain was so terrible. I wouldn't let this therapist stop, though, and today I did all the exercises by myself without screaming. That's a little thing, I suppose, but I'm really proud."

The head nurse, Freda, had told me before I went into the wards that she thinks the patients want to be treated like little children and should be allowed to enjoy such treatment at the beginning, without too much emphasis on future rehabilitation plans. The patient's story about his physiotherapy gave me an opportunity to put the question to some of his companions.

"Sometimes we like to be pampered and sometimes we like to be he-man heroes," one of them answered. "But the day is so long that we have enough time for both."

My escorts had a different theory. The wounded men go through stages, they explained, and we also have to remember that they are individuals, and like all individuals, they react differently to a given situation.

Dr. Durst, a clinical psychologist on the hospital staff who is working with the handicapped, for the first time, added that some of those who now seem so self-confident will eventually become seriously depressed.

"There is one tennis player who lost his right hand and yet he spent the first week in apparently good spirits, always laughing. Today when I went to visit him, he was suddenly depressed. I knew that he was now prepared for a serious talk with me."

Even when the patient accepts his situation, intellectually, commented Yedidia, "he still hasn't accepted it emotionally. There's a tendency to want to close our eyes to the truth, but when it finally hits us, that's when the depression sets in."

"Some of the patients don't want to see a psychologist or psychiatrist and claim they don't need the help," said David. "But I can tell you that the psychologist who came to see me when I was wounded really did a lot for me. He even helped me break the news to my wife."



Facing the future together. (Below) The tender touch that bodes well.



This is another service the disabled visitors provide: telling the patients and their families about services available to them. For instance, not all visiting relatives know that the army will pay their travel expenses to and from the hospital, or about the long-term help that is provided. The Disabled Veterans visitors can provide information about the various kinds of help the Rehabilitation Department offers — from a monthly pension to assistance with housing (in certain cases), help in continuing education or special vocational training, and so on.

The questions which the patients ask these visitors can be boiled down to one anxious query: "What will happen to me in the future?" Some ask about work; others about substitutes for sports they used to enjoy.

"We have a basketball team," a swimming team and lots of other activities," David told one former basketball enthusiast. "Let's see which team you get on."

"I was an electrician," one double amputee said, "and I think I could continue to work as an electrician with some limitations. I don't know if I could climb poles — but I see these guys climbing stairs on prostheses, so why couldn't I climb a ladder?"

ONE PROBLEM with which hospital staff, the visiting teams and the wounded themselves must all grapple is the thin line between the helpful concern of loving relatives and the possibility that the patients, who need treatment and rest, will be "stifled" by the seemingly endless stream of well-meaning visitors — relatives, friends or just volunteers.

"It's hard for a nurse to be a policeman and to chase visitors out of the rooms," Freda, the head nurse, sighed. "They all mean well, after all."

"But you can't change a patient's dressings with an audience looking on," David said, "and a patient who wants a bedpan is ashamed to ask for one when there are visitors in the room."

David, Yedidia and Yoram all think that most families, and society in general, accept disabled veterans very well.

"And when these boys see how well-adjusted and well-integrated into society we seem to be, it gives them confidence. After all, they aren't going to be exclusively among handicapped people all their lives. What helps them is to see that we get along with the non-handicapped."

Some of the patients praised the work of my three disabled escorts; this embarrassed them, and they kept insisting that I should not over-estimate their small contribution to the rehabilitation process.

They also all agreed that war-disabled have an easier time adjusting than do persons disabled in accidents, since the wounded soldier can more easily justify why it happened — though the question "Why did it happen to me?" remains unanswered and often arouses anger and aggression during the depression stage.

"But at least they can blame it on an enemy with whom we all are angry," one of my escorts explained. "They know that all of us — disabled and non-disabled alike — are with them and that they are not alone."

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MANY OF THE PATIENTS went into, a patient lay crying and did not respond to any of David's efforts to talk to him. "This is one of the cases where we don't know how to help," David told me later. "And that hurts us."

In the same room, a soldier who had lost a hand called David aside. "Do you think I'll be able to drive?"

"Sure. You'll have to have special equipment in the car, that's all. On Yom Kippur, when the reserves were called up, members of our organization volunteered to take them in our cars. The guy in the car next to mine had only one hand."

This boy's fiancée, who was sitting beside his bed, asked David about possibilities of help with housing.

"The Ministry of Defence's Rehabilitation Department takes care of that. They have a clerk going around registering all the newly-disabled soldiers. When he gets to you, tell him about your wedding plans and your housing problem. Of course, though, he only takes down the information. Later, you'll be referred to a worker for individual help."

THE DISTINCTION between soldiers and civilians and the regard for civilian lives in warfare is by no means a tradition even in the West. The bombing of Guernica, the Warsaw of Coventry are still fresh in the memory of the older generation. But the distinction exists. When it is broken, it shocks our sense of humanity.

In our part of the world, the distinction is unknown. El adu, the enemy, the Arab radio stations' most common synonym for Israelis, means both soldiers in uniform and civilians. It includes men, women and children. The belief that the terrorists were the first to flout the distinction is unfounded. The settlements of the Jordan and Belsen Valleys were the targets for indiscriminate shooting by Syrian and Jordanian regulars, long before the terrorists were heard of.

The Syrians have not changed in this regard. They started the Yom Kippur War with "a bombardment the like of which we have never lived through before," as one of the settlers at Ramat Magshimim put it. Since it was founded in July, 1968, this moshav, in the southern Golan, three kilometres from the Syrian lines, has endured many shelling from the guns there. "We have a permanent subscription to them. They are still emplaced there, to this day."

In the southern Golan, the Syrian army was not pushed back last month, as it was in the north and centre. That none of the settlers died in the shelling is due to their strong shelters, and to sheer luck.

The Druse in the northern Golan were not so lucky. In three raids on Majdal Shams, Bukata, Mas'ada and Ein Kniya — on October 6, 7 and 23 — 13 men, women and children were killed and 24 wounded, some of them badly. The final raid, after the cease-fire was supposed to be in operation, was the worst and caused the greatest number of injuries.

Legally and politically, the Druse are Syrian subjects, and they believe that the motive for the raids was revenge for what the rulers in Damascus regard as their cooperation with Israel. If there was any uncertainty before about the loyalty of the bulk of the Golan Druse to Israel, the deliberate Syrian bombings have certainly removed it: the former overlords can now be assured of their collective hatred.

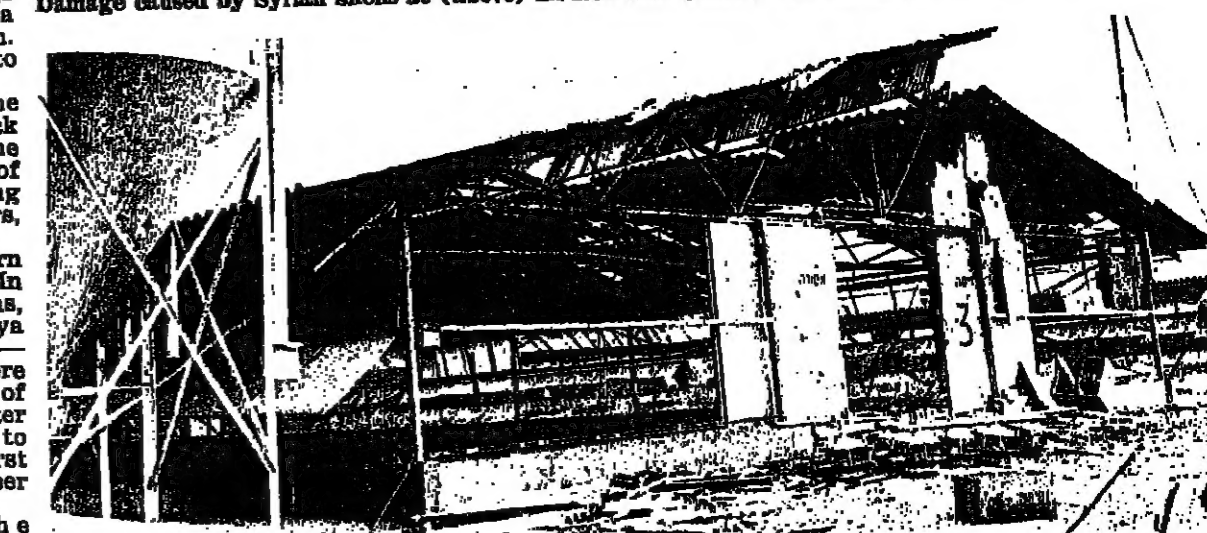
It was in awareness of standard Syrian practice that, on the evening of October 6, the General Staff ordered the evacuation of the entire civilian Jewish population of Golan.

AT RAMAT MAGSHIMIM, a religious moshav, the 28-year-old secretary-manager, Uri Meir, was conducting the Yom Kippur mourning service in the underground synagogue when the order for the evacuation of the women and children arrived.

"An army doctor delivered the news that a bus would turn up at 12 noon to take our 30 women and 40 children back to safety. The bus only arrived at 1.40, and while they were getting aboard the Syrian guns and mortars opened up from 3,000 metres. The women and children got off the bus again as fast as they could, and we all scattered into the nearest shelters. It was the heaviest shelling



Damage caused by Syrian shells at (above) El Rom and (below) Ramat Magshimim. (Oskar Tauber)



we've ever had." After an hour or so there was a lull, and later in the day the women and children left for Kibbutz Lavi, near Tiberias. Eventually they were given further "wonderful hospitality" at Degania Bet.

In the afternoon, the remaining settlers saw Syrian tanks coming down from the north, and a parachute unit arrived to set up anti-tank defences. Orders to clear out. They left at seven o'clock on Sunday morning, but it was not until they got to Lavi that they learned that the Syrians had moved into the Golan.

That day, the Syrians occupied Ramat Magshimim. They did not enjoy the gain very long: within 30 hours they were on the retreat.

"On Tuesday, 48 hours later, some of us went back to look. Officially we, the men, were allowed to return on Wednesday. The Syrians hadn't touched anything except the books in the homes and property were untouched; the Syrians did not have enough leisure to plunder.

As happens with everyone in the Golan, Uri Meir's face takes on a look of mingled pain and

Ya'acov Ardon

determination when he talks about the order to evacuate the settlement.

"We took it hard. It was agony. It must not happen again, ever."

Moshe Gur'el, a founder member of Ramat Magshimim, shows the depressing sights of war damage.

The torn sheds of the poultry farm, its automatic control device twisted, the floor strewn with feathers. The Syrian tanks overran the stockade and 650 cows scattered. Eighty per cent of them were rounded up. Of the 30 bulls, 27 were recovered. Of 12 horses, only one survived. A tank battle wrought havoc in the 200-dunam apple orchard; all the trees will have to be replanted. The farm machinery suffered little damage, and private homes and property were untouched; the Syrians did not have enough leisure to plunder.

Soon after they were allowed to return to their homes and fields on the first Wednesday of the War, the leaders of the 17 Golan settlements met to take stock of the situation and the lessons they had learned. As Uri Meir puts it:

"Our children ask: Why didn't you stay and fight against the Syrians? We don't want to be country."

also wrecked, but of its 7,500 turkeys only 400 perished. The 280-head cattle herd scattered, but most were found again. (All the cattle on the Golan are branded and easily identifiable.) Magshimim, El Rom, Ein Zivan and Merom Hagolan, where the One of the seed-potato fields, some two km. from the kibbutz, was the scene of a tank battle; the sloping tract of land is dotted with the remnants of something like 180 Syrian tanks and other armoured vehicles.

A census this week put the "tank harvest" in the whole Golan at 1,000 of all types. Some of the Russian-made tanks still wear the coat of brown paint given them in the Soviet Union. The tanks in good order have already been removed, but the wrecked armour is now hampering harvesting or winter sowing, and the farmers are anxious to see them go.

The Golan population is mostly in its twenties. Even their grandfathers in Nahalini, Degania or Yesod Hama'ala could not have wished for a more enthusiastic generation of pioneers. They deserve the tools they seek to do a job on behalf of the entire country.

dispersed, as we are now, among different army units on all the fronts, including the Canal. We want to be part of the defence establishment up here. The army commanders are listening sympathetically to this proposal. Admittedly, it will be something of a problem. In one settlement four-fifths of the men are officers in various units. But it can be solved. We want to become a kind of home guard.

Another plea of the Golan pioneers is to double the population within a year. Instead of several years in the existing settlements in those on the planning board, and in an urban centre which it is already decided is to be established somewhere in the central Golan, where the soil is unsuitable for cultivation.

"We're ready to take in young people who want to spend their life up here with us, people with or without children," says Yehuda Adiver, the 22-year-old manager of El Rom. "We don't want volunteers who come and go."

The settlers are hopeful. The World Zionist Organization has instructed its Settlement Division to present a plan right away, whose execution it would finance.

"It isn't a question of money," Mr. Pinhas Sapir assured them at a meeting last week. The settlers say the population of the urban centre would run into several thousand and could make a living on industry, including cement, meat processing and other plants, on services, on tourism, on the model of the development towns like Arad or Carmiel. They sound earnest and urgent.

"We appeal to the Government, the settlement authorities, the building contractors and the suppliers of materials and services: Give us priority to turn this area into a bulwark which we settlers shall man, arm and defend with our bodies, so that a Yom Kippur invasion will not happen again on any day of the year. Let us farmer-plate the Golan so that Galilee and the Upper Jordan valley will be safe for us and our children after us. And make haste."

MEANWHILE, they have gone back with vigour and hope to repairing the damage. In the four settlements that bore the brunt of the Syrian assault, Ramat Magshimim, El Rom, Ein Zivan and Merom Hagolan, where the total damage is estimated at between 11.4m. and 15m. — they are back at work. The enemy dead have been buried with due respect. The armoured corps are clearing away the vehicle casualties; the Sappers are checking every field for unexploded shells and mines. (In Ramat Magshimim, the trained dog of one of the settlers opened every door to try for booby traps; none was found.) The Housing Ministry, or the Post Office and the Electric Corporation are repairing houses, windows, telephones, water and electric power distribution systems.

The Golan population is mostly in its twenties. Even their grandfathers in Nahalini, Degania or Yesod Hama'ala could not have wished for a more enthusiastic generation of pioneers. They deserve the tools they seek to do a job on behalf of the entire country.

MAKING WAR ON CIVILIANS

PROSPECTS FOR SADAT



Professor SHIMON SHAMIR, who heads Tel Aviv University's Shiloah Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies, became a household figure in Israeli homes as a television commentator on Arab attitudes and positions during the recent war. Earlier this week he was interviewed by The Post's SRAJA SHAPIRO on the causes and consequences of Egypt's resort to war.

SADAT'S DECISION to launch a surprise attack against Israel was based on the assumption that, whether they want to or not, the Soviets would back to the hilt a renewed Arab military adventure. When he put them to the test, the Russians behaved exactly as he had anticipated, to the extent of master-minding the military operations and having troops ready to help the Egyptians out.

In expressing this view, Prof. Shamir makes it clear that he is to be counted among those who are sceptical about the theory of a Soviet "grand design." Rather, he believes, it was Sadat who forced the Soviets' hand by choosing to fight a war which he needed for Egypt as well as for himself. And when he ordered the Soviet troops and advisers out of Egypt in 1972, it was a genuine clash between the Egyptians' desire to have full political manoeuvrability and the Soviets' wish to have their fingers on the war buttons.

Sadat's strategy was completely different from the Nasserite conception, although Sadat likes to be regarded as Nasser's direct follower. Nasser, in his war of attrition, believed that he could wear Israel down by constant hammering in a limited area and impose a settlement which would not differ too much from that of 1967. In addition to military attrition by the regular armies and the fedayeen, he counted on four other factors.

He believed that he would be able to commit the Soviet Union to significant active support in the field; to force the United States into an "even-handed" policy; to activate the United Nations as an effective instrument of coercion; and to organize the whole Arab world into a formidable military force led, naturally, by Egypt.

NASSER LIVED LONG enough to

realize that he had failed in all his aims: Israel could live on in spite of the limited war on the frontiers; the Soviets were agreeable to increased involvement only on condition that they were given more control; America did not reduce its support of Israel; and the Arab united front failed to mobilize, a fact that was demonstrated by the collapse of the Eastern Command.

Sadat's concept was basically different. He calculated that the resumption of a total war would break the political deadlock into which he and his Egypt had manoeuvred themselves. He hoped that a partial success, such as crossing the Canal and pushing 30 km. into Sinai could be consolidated by big power intervention and from that position he would be able to launch a diplomatic offensive which would bring about, within a short time, an Israeli withdrawal to the pre-June 1967 lines. Hence his solemn commitment in his public speech in the second week of the war not to agree to any cease-fire lines other than those of June 4, 1967.

FOR THE FIRST TIME since 1948 the Egyptian soldier could be imbued with a real sense of purpose, says Prof. Shamir. "Sinai" was a symbol, the "Canal" a physical landmark in Egypt's life. In the earlier wars, the Egyptian did not really care much. But after 1967, the Egyptian soldier could be worked up to regard the return of Sinai as a measure for the defence of his homeland. It was not by chance that the beginning of the war was heralded by broadcasting the old Egyptian patriotic song, "Biladi, Biladi" (My motherland, my motherland).

The second principal theme which dominated Egyptian broadcasts to the troops was Islam. The

war took place in the month of Ramadan and many historical and religious motives connected with that holy month were used to imbue the soldiers with a spirit of Jihad. Indeed, Israeli and other research has demonstrated that these two values, Egyptianism and Islam, are the closest to the Egyptian heart.

Thus, the Egyptians had stronger motivation than in the past. In addition, they had the weapons in quantities they had never dreamed of before; and the training the soldiers received was more thorough than they had ever had. There was also the desire to wipe out the humiliation of the 1967 defeat. The admission of the Israeli soldier that the Egyptian fights better than before is fully understandable.

Prof. Shamir says: a trauma generates energy just as euphoria dispels it. He has no illusions, however, about what an Egyptian success would have led to. He has the word of Mohammed Hassan Heykal, Cairo's most eloquent spokesman, that once the Arabs manage to impose a solution to the 1967 problems by force, there will be nothing to prevent them from imposing their solution to the 1948 problem. It is obvious to the professor that had the Egyptian army managed to reach the international frontier with Israel, it would not have stopped there.

It is of only academic interest at present to speculate on what might have been done in the past to dissuade Sadat from trying the military option.

THERE WERE TWO SCHOOLS in Israeli thinking about the Arabs after 1967. The prevailing school of thought had tended to view the problem mainly in psychological terms. Since Arab hatred was in-

radicable, it maintained, all that Israel could do was to create unilaterally new realities wherever possible, and mainly in the administered territories.

The other school attempted to see the Arab world as a complex of dynamic forces which gives some scope for Israeli political and diplomatic initiatives. However, the fact, which was always unanimously recognized in Israel, that both the Nasser-Sadat and the Ba'ath leaderships represented the intransigent hawkish attitude, made it impossible to establish that an Israeli peace initiative would have achieved any concrete results beyond improving the image of Israel. It is highly significant that the Arab governments refused to recognize that any attempt at settlement must come at the negotiating table. "On this Israel cannot budge," Prof. Shamir says.

For Sadat, the war is far from being over. The Israeli troops between Suez and Jamaliya cannot be made to disappear simply by threats or propaganda. From his thin strip of sand on the east side of the Canal, he cannot hope to command enough pressure for the kind of political solution he wants. Arab honour, the spring which set off the October war, would not be avenged in this fashion. Moreover, Sadat is under mounting pressure from other partners whose help he sought, precisely in the name of Arab honour.

Libya's Gaddafi is a particularly troublesome ally, for he puts Arab honour above all other considerations. Gaddafi never concealed his displeasure at Sadat's going to war without waiting for the total mobilization of all Arab resources, military as well as economic. But since the war has happened, Gaddafi would accept nothing less than a clear victory. It should, also, be remembered that Sadat is

obviously fighting for his life in Egypt, too. At present, the Egyptian people still have little idea of their army's position.

AS FOR THE FUTURE, Prof. Shamir, as a scholar, prefers to leave prophecy to others. However, he believes that study can make a contribution to assessing trends of development. He takes pride in pointing out that as far back as the end of 1971, at a conference held in Tel Aviv University by the Shiloah Centre, one of the participants declared:

"It would be very difficult for the Soviet Union to stand by while the Arab states are defeated again. It is extremely unlikely that the Soviet Union is interested in the resumption of hostilities. But she is in this respect in the same position in which the U.S. has found herself time and again vis-a-vis dependent and weak clients: it is the client who can force the hand of the powerful protector. If an Arab leader gives the order to attack tomorrow, he may force the Soviet Union's hand regardless of what the Kremlin may think of this particular action."

"The limits within which the Soviet Union is willing to operate in this complicated and dangerous context are determined by its counteraction she can expect. If the U.S.S.R. anticipates a weak or non-existent counteraction, she will go as far as she deems necessary to protect and promote her interests. On the other hand, if she foresees a counteraction which entails enormous risks for herself, she will do everything in her power to limit her involvement in a new military confrontation in the Middle East."

This analysis, says Prof. Shamir, not only illustrates the origins and course of the October war, but also points to the determinants of future developments.

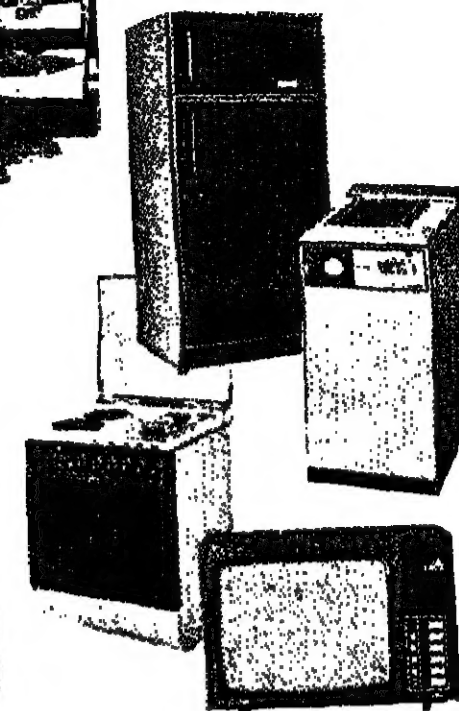
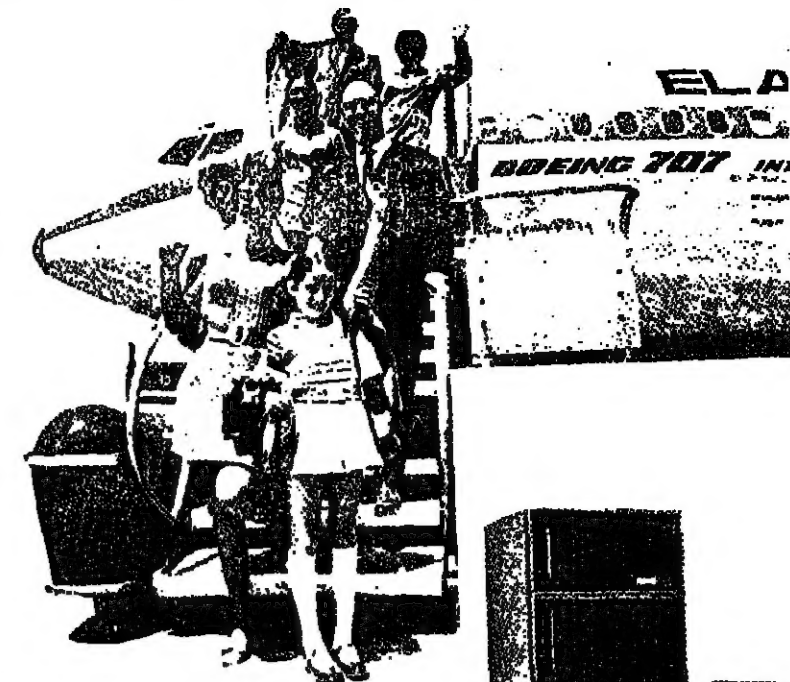
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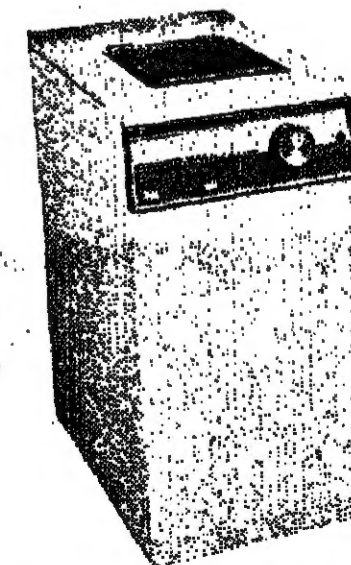
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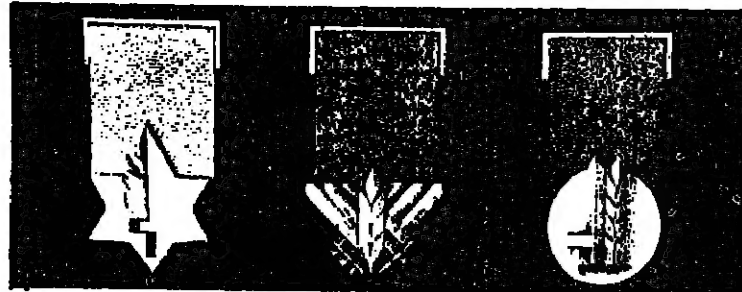
AMCOR

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1973

THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE

PAGE ELEVEN

THE FIRST HEROES



Israel is now honouring the memory of the valiant men who have given their lives in the Yom Kippur War, 1973. Here are two stories of soldiers who lived to tell of peril and bravery during the worst stage of the war — the early battles to stem the enemy tide. Both first appeared in "Bamahane," the IDF weekly.

SEREN SHMULIK'S tank unit was actually the first to engage the Syrians at 1315 hours, Saturday, Yom Kippur. Shmulik's force had been alerted not long before and was on its way to reinforce a strongpoint facing the main axis on the northern front. The Syrians had already crossed the old cease-fire line.

"I ordered my men to let them come in close. Then, when they were within very short range, we opened up simultaneously. All our first shells found their mark. I fired a round and saw a turret ripped off an enemy tank." Within a short time, Shmulik's force had destroyed the leading 15 tanks of the Syrian armoured column. "They blocked the way for the remainder — close spaced and stretching out for perhaps four kilometres behind them."

"But then there were another six Syrian T-type tanks, only 200 metres away."

"They were the smart ones. Realizing that things weren't going their way, they ducked behind, almost grazed a U.N. observation post, and came at us from the other side. We touched them off, one after the other, and left them blazing. I thought we'd stopped them for good this time. But no, there was a third column heading towards us from the south, some 500 metres away."

"I can't remember how often I screamed 'bullseye,' but I do remember realizing that we were running out of ammunition. I had only two rounds left when I saw our reinforcements coming up. It was getting dark by then — around a quarter to six — and we had been in battle for almost four solid hours."

"I wanted to show our reinforcements where the enemy was. So I looked around, and found an armoured troop-carrier. We hit it with our last round but one."

"I got an immediate response from the commander of the advancing unit. 'Lovely,' he said, 'I can see them now. Everything will be fine.' The reinforcements went into action and we could at last afford to relax a bit."

Shmulik clambered down from his turret for a closer inspection of this "cemetery of Syrian armour," as he called it. A few seconds later, a shell whistled close by, and exploded on the cupola of my tank. A shower of fragments rained all around me. Eight shrapnel got me in the throat. Before I could gather my wits, one of our tanks opened fire, destroying the Syrian tank that had fired the shell.

Shmulik had a special word of praise for his gunner, Sergeant Yitzhak from Kiryat Shmona. "He's the best goddam gunner in the battalion. He emptied our ammunition store, but every shell found its mark. All told, I think my tank alone destroyed over 30 enemy targets."

Bunched together for the night, Shmulik's unit heard the ominous clank of the enemy's tanks all through the hours of darkness. They knew they were being surrounded and cut off from the rear and that they would have to fight their way out at daylight. They were refuelled, and took on new ammunition supplies.

"When dawn came, I was awestruck by the sight of so many enemy tanks — more than I had ever seen at one time before, dotting the plains all around us. We fired and hit and fired time and again. I remember beginning to experience real fear — hitting them, and the way they remained static, refusing to turn tail. It was then that I looked up and said: 'Where the hell is our damn Air Force?'"

As if in answer to Shmulik's impression, four Phantoms dived out of the skies, and added the finishing touch to what the tanks had begun.

EYAL'S STORY comes from the Canal. It also started on the first night of the war, while Egyptian fire was still concentrating on the Israeli outposts lining the east bank of the Canal. Eyal, a 20-year-old tank commander from Ramat Haneharon, was ordered forward with the force desperately trying to stem the Egyptian advance on the east side of the Canal in the Kantara area. His tank was hit, along with two others, and unable to move.

"It seemed that our tracks were gone. But the fire system functioned. So we continued fighting as we were, stationary."

"At daybreak, we realized that we were only 50 metres away from one of our strongpoints. One of the crew ran out to investigate and found the post still occupied. The commander of the outpost ordered us back to our tanks and told us to keep on shooting to help him defend the position. But when all three of our tanks were hit, we were forced to abandon them, and joined the garrison of the strongpoint."

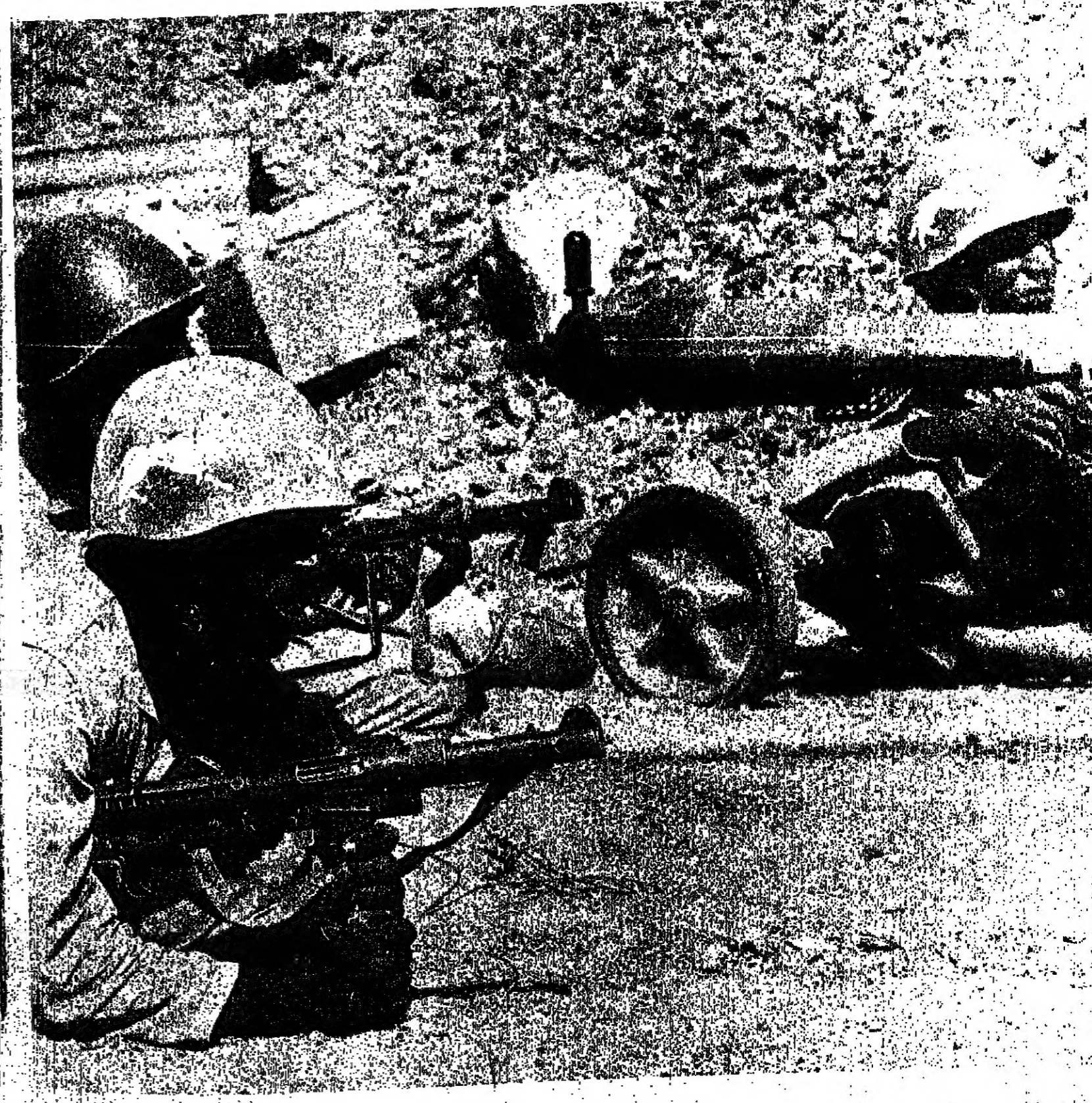
"They were real fighters, those boys. Some of them ran out to our abandoned tanks to retrieve all the ammunition still left there, since



(Above) "I fired a round and saw a turret ripped off an enemy tank." (Below) "The reinforcements came." (IDF/Rubinger)



(Above) An observation plane cruises over an Israeli column on the Canal front. (Below) The enemy: Egyptian infantry in action against tanks.



we were running short. It was then that we saw a fourth tank of ours, standing some distance away. Even as we looked we could see two tracked troop-carriers approaching it. At first we thought they were ours, come to evacuate us. But the tank crew didn't make the same mistake and properly identified them for what they really were — Egyptian troop-carriers, each with about 20 soldiers aboard. They finished them off with two quick shots.

"At 11 o'clock on Sunday night, we were ordered to abandon the stronghold and to move out towards the marshes, where we would be picked up. The enemy evidently sensed that we were without cover and opened random fire, spraying the entire area. It soon became clear to us — we were 42 strong — that we had not received clear instructions on the direction we were supposed to take."

"The entire southern side of Kantara was surrounded by enemy artillery batteries. We were ambushed and fire was opened on us. We retreated to Kantara. We hid in one of the abandoned houses. After consulting among ourselves, we decided to strike out in a northerly direction. We moved out again — and again we were ambushed, and fire was opened at a distance of only 30-40 metres."

"We took cover, and I was certain that this was the end. A dog, which had befriended us and stayed with us in the stronghold, was close to my heels. He was hit and fell down across my legs and began writhing. We again retreated to Kantara. Suddenly, we heard a truck coming — it was full of Egyptian troops."

"Finally, we hid in the cemetery in Kantara and tried to think what to do. The commander of the stronghold, who was inhumanly calm and collected, found a path leading to the marshes. We followed the path, and despite the fact that we passed only a short distance from Egyptian tanks and artillery batteries, we remained undetected."

"By daybreak, we were in the middle of the marshes. We hid in the bushes during the day and as night fell, we heard tanks approaching. They were our tanks. But how could we identify ourselves before they opened fire on us? One of the boys, a yeshiva bocher, had an idea — he took out his tallit and ran towards the tanks, waving it. The tanks did not open fire. Our men recognized the tallit: it saved us from certain death."

A black and white illustration of a woman from the chest up. She is wearing a wide-brimmed hat with a dark band. Her face is pale with dark, defined features: large eyes, a straight nose, and full lips. She has a serious expression. She is wearing a dark, patterned dress with a high collar and a large, dark, textured object, possibly a brooch or a piece of jewelry, at the center of her chest. Her hands are visible, holding the object. The style is graphic and somewhat abstract, with heavy black ink and white space.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1978

Ron Ben-Yishai's best

dia. Let us hope that soon, Israel Television will be producing shows as good about peace, while, as we are told, has its victories, no less worthy of remembrance. The Israeli television show "Yishai" was followed on the Weekend Magazine by Richard Lindley's BBC report from the east bank of the Canal, in the vicinity of Kantara. It seemed to me that the Israeli piece stood

Heath: "like a welshing bookie in a P. G. Wodehouse story."

the programme as propaganda to show how they well treat P.O.Ws and that for this reason it was ill-timed. But, even if they do use it as propaganda, it may also influence them to behave well. In any event, Dan's main message is that wars are horrifying,

EVERYBODY IS no doubt developing a pet hate in the course of the war: mine is Britain's Prime Minister, Edward Heath. Every time I see his potato-fu! cheeks and hear his fruity voice I feel like throwing tomatoes at

I'd rather have a fob. Somebody would give him and Sir Alec that England has become a high-rate power. Why, they can't even get into the finals of the World Cup! When Harold Wilson was Prime Minister, they won the Cup. The coincidence should make Englishmen consider whether the cost of betraying the Jews is not too high. If it does make me, my only friends and I are thought I'd be glad to see Poland humiliating an English football team on the sports programme, but I was.

What can I say about Ann Bancroft, when I have already exhausted all my superlatives. This was a show I had seen before — I don't remember whether it was on Israel or Jordan — but I rolled in helpless laughter and awe stricken wonder as she went through Joanne, Phyllis and the rest of her superb collection of gals. God bless 'em.

Next came Jerusalem hotel man, Halm Schiff, to describe the critical state of the nation's hotels and tourism industry.

"There is much that could be done, but is not," said Mr. Schiff; though short of convincing reasons, he said, he was not a reluctant touristist that would not be a particularly pleasant time to visit Israel, he offered no suggestions.

Many hotels are on the verge of closure, he said, and the problem of employment is serious. One suggestion was to send them on holiday without pay: he was against this because it is so unfair.

Finally, the general state of the economy in the emergency and after — was discussed. The public's "maturity" was praised (a rather generalized compliment, I thought) and questions were raised about the future of subsidies — specifically, for example, for public transportation. "Of course, we want to encourage public transport," said Mr. Bloch or Mr. Kessler, "but the man with a car turned out to be in a comfortable position, while those who depend on buses found them running on a very limited schedule." Quite so.

PAGE NINETEEN

The play's the thing

Before Yom Kippur, Habimah had four productions. Habimah had more or less successfully: "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," "The Eternal Husband," and "Bosman and Lena." And about to be premiered — in fact the dress rehearsal was scheduled for Saturday night, October 6 — was a musical comedy entitled "They say Peace, Peace, and There is no Peace." The show opened soon after for a running-in period and is, at the moment, being given by Habimah. The play is being performed practically every day to audience practicing mainly of soldiers, in Tel Aviv and all over the country.

showing "As I'm like it," says the author, "I'm like you and Leiden-
thal," which looks like becoming
one of the most durable plays of
recent years, is still being shown at
Zavta, while its author, Hanoch
Levin, is to begin to rehearse his
new play, "Shoshil."

The run of another durable
play, Nissim Aloni's "The Scape-
goat," came to an abrupt end
with the death of Itzko Rahamimov,
who played one of the lead-
ing parts. He was only 44 when
he succumbed to a heart attack.
He was a very good actor, full
of surprises, each new part dis-
playing a new facet of his talent.
The role of Zed, a mysterious
character appearing in a variety

So much for the Bible. Another show now being rehearsed by Habibah takes its cue from Shakespeare. Ephraim Kishon has written and is directing a sequel to "Romeo and Juliet," having changed the ending of the original for the purpose. Thus the star-crossed lovers remain alive and marry — only to regret it later. The rehearsals that had to be stopped when war broke out were resumed at the beginning of this week.

In the conviction that the times call for laughter to release tensions, Habibah is going ahead

avising.

So much for repertory theatres which are capable of scraping through difficult times, being kept afloat by Government subsidies which cover about 40 per cent of their budgets. As for the commercial theatres, which rely entirely on box-office receipts, they have suspended operations altogether.

Theatre, being based on long-range planning, the disruptions caused by the war will have long-range effects. This season at least will be profoundly different from what had been planned.

Right now, the Haifa Theatre is presenting two plays which were in the repertory when war broke out — A.B. Yehoshua's "Last Rites" and Bar-Yosef's "Difficult People" — in addition to having a small group travelling around the fronts and hospitals. Both were suspended at first, but performances were resumed in the second week of the war. Audiences range from 70 to 180 an evening.

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Theatre being based on long-range planning, the disruptions caused by the war will have long-range effects. This season at least will be profoundly different from what had been planned.

Political issues aired

at midweek). We did hear a brief discussion as to whether there should be a discussion; but that was with Thursday, on Chamei A, of Gahal Dr. Elimelech Ritzalt of Gahal being pro and Labour Party Secretary-General Aharon Yadin, against. Any front-line soldier might have had much to add to the discussion.

The daily morning press round-up is again with us. Interestingly enough this had been not a war casualty but an election casualty; the extreme sensibility of political factions, it was thought, would have detected "partiality" in any editorial coverage from the papers. So now that we have a real crisis over-

Soldier: "Thank you, thank you."

Shekem: "You're welcome."

Soldier: "Pleasee."

The same Zahal diary gave a belated but impressive little item on how reserve soldiers from the Minorities Unit were called up; they, after all, were not in the synagogue on Yom Kippur. But they were all at the village centres, waiting for the buses to pick them up, the Unit Commander said. "They were not asked to go, and there was no question of our having to go to the homes to look for them."

A young reserve soldier, from whom this war brought the first taste of combat, described his

Topol, as a great many foreign correspondents know, is a well-publicized secret weapon of our reserve duty when he comes home, even in peacetime — in home escort visiting journalists around, "especially the BBC." During this war, he had Alexander Springer as well. Topol's charm, easy modesty, and fantastic lack of *schicks* make him perfect for this assignment, and I wish he might operate on the highest of all levels.

Yes, he told Rivka, at first newsmen are rather fascinated at the idea of having a movie actor escorting them, but then they get used to it, and they get crowded with their job, and I have no chance to talk to the soldiers. No, he didn't put on any special performances: "I don't think it was really the time for performances, and besides, at my age perhaps my material isn't quite right."



Topol: our secret weapon.

18- and 19-year-olds." Not all the likely, because he admitted that he did tell a joke or two, and when asked to produce one from the radio audience said, "My u c too vulgar."

THREE PROBLEMS caused the war were discussed by Danu-
el and Levi Kessler on the
First Channel's "People and Fi-
nances" Programme on Sunday
evening. (Hasn't the theme mus-
ic been changed to a drums-and-
predictability motif since the p
war instalments?) The first su-
ject was the Voluntary Loan
which both men were against
principally. It should, they agree,
be compulsory and not "volun-
tary," and be based on a bro-
ken plan of needs.

"I've just spent three weeks
in the Army before returning to

home economy," said one of them (and I did not manage to keep straight who was Bloch and who was Kessler). "When I got back to work, I found that the workers' committee had decided to deduct a month's salary from my pay. But it shouldn't be done this way — perhaps I might have wanted to give even more?"

In the interests of even-handedness, however, and since both the leftists and the rightists were against me, I agreed to be against, someone from the Voluntary War Loan office would be invited to present the positive side of the idea.

Next came Jerusalem hotel man, Halm Schiff, to describe the critical state of the nation's hotels and tourism industry.

"There is much that could be done, but is not," said Mr. Schiff, though short of convincing reluctant tourists that now is particularly pleasant time to visit Israel, he offered no suggestions. Many hotels are on the verge of closure, he said, and the problem of employees is serious. One suggestion was to send them on holiday-without-pay: he was against this because it is a bad precedent.

Finally, the general state of the economy in the emergency and after — was discussed. The public's "maturity" was praised (a rather generalized compliment, I thought) and questions were raised about the future of subsidies — specifically, for example, for public transport. Of course we were told that "mass public transport" existed either Mr. Bloch or Mr. Kessler, "but the man with a car turned out to be in a comfortable position, while those who depend on buses found them running on a very limited schedule." Quite so.

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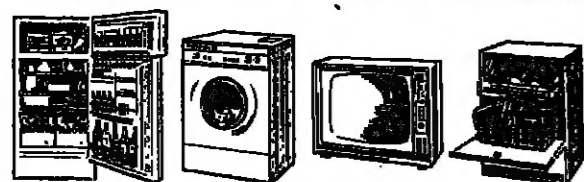
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Difficult days diet



NATURALLY COOKING has become more difficult these days, with some items scarce or expensive, or both. None the less, really good cooking should be a combination of skills, intuition and inventiveness, overcoming such obstacles.

The above could be a definition of the classic Chinese cuisine which, despite its greatness, is based on a series of techniques rather than specific ingredients. Even the present scarcity of rice would not have mattered in those parts of China where the noodle has always been supreme. One can even find a link between Eastern European and Chinese cuisine insofar as these seem to have been the two cultures that raised the art of making chicken soup to its pinnacle. In the Chinese quarters of the Western world, it is not uncommon to see a restaurant with a Chinese family seated around a large tureen of soup which constitutes their entire meal.

ONE SUCH SOUP is sour cabbage soup, an offering of Szechwan regional cooking, now in vogue in the United States. It is typical of this cooking, with its sharp spicy flavours. While there is a special Chinese pickled cabbage, we will have to be content with sauerkraut and other substitute ingredients.

Put a chicken in a pot of boiling water. Add the gizzard, neck and feet (after they have been cleaned by immersing for about a minute in boiling water, rinsing with cold water and scraping off the yellow outer skin). Omitting salt, add the usual condiments for chicken soup; a carrot, celery, parsley, an onion with a clove stuck into it and a bay leaf. Cook over a low flame for at least 40 minutes.

When the chicken is done but not overdone (when a drumstick moves with ease in its joint or when the breast, pierced with a fork, runs with clear, not pink, juice) remove it — but not the giblets — and let it cool enough to handle. Skim and bone it, setting aside the meat and return the skin and bones to the soup, together with one or more red peppers. Cook over a low flame for about an hour.

Strain the soup. At this point it can be cooled and kept in the refrigerator or freezer until you wish to use it. Then, skim off the fat if you wish, cut the meat into bite-size pieces and return to the soup. Add about 200 grams, or half a tin, of drained, chopped sauerkraut.

Virtually any vegetable may be added to the soup. Especially recommended are those whose crispness is typical of Chinese cooking, such as Chinese cabbage, kohlrabi and Swiss chard. When the vegetables are cooked, but still crisp, mix a heaped tablespoon of cornflour with a little cold water and pour it in. Season the soup with soy sauce instead of salt to taste. If it is too sour, add a dollop of sherry or other sweet wine, and cook for another minute.

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TWO WEEKS SPOKEN HEBREW COURSE

An intensive for
TOURISTS, VISITORS AND VOLUNTEERS
will be given at the Jerusalem Language Centre, 6 Rehov Hazanovich (near Kapet Holim Strauss)
Tel. 294131-2-3
Language laboratory, morning or afternoon classes, all levels.

WHAT'S ON

Plant a Tree in Israel
With your Own Hands!
Free tours for planters to the hills of Judea leave every Monday and Wednesday from Jerusalem and every Tuesday from Tel Aviv. For details and registration please call Visitors Department, Keren Kayemet Le-Israel (Jewish National Fund): In Jerusalem — Rehov King George, Tel. 22448. In Rehov Ha-Yarkon, opp. Don Hotel, Tel. 22448.
Reading Guide — at your hotel or bookstore.

ALL WEEK IN JERUSALEM
Israel Museum: Sun., Mon., Wed., Thur. 10 a.m.-4 p.m.; Tuesday 10 a.m.-6 p.m.; Fri., Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m. Entry free for soldiers in uniform.
Land of Dole: Henry Moore — Elephant Skull.
The 1st International Triennale of Photography (Sperliu, Goldmann-Schwartz and Library Galleries): Free. From the inscriptions reveal — special exhibit at Rockefeller.

Hadassah Tours
1. Morning tour, Hadassah projects in Jerusalem: 8.30 a.m. Siracus Health Centre, 21 Rehov Strauss, ILA 40 or 52 towards transportation and refreshments.
2. Medical Centre only: 9.30 a.m.-11.00 a.m.; 12.15 p.m.-2.00 p.m. (not Fridays or holidays). Kennedy Building. No charge. Information regarding the above tours, contact Tel. 26338.

For further information regarding the above tours, contact Tel. 26338.
Hebrew University, conducted tours in English, weekdays at 9 and 11 a.m. starting from the lobby of the Administration Building at the Givat Ram Campus and at 2 p.m. from the Truman Research Institute at the Mount Scopus Campus.

Tourists and visitors come and see the General Israel Orphanage, Jerusalem, and its manifold activities and impressive modern building. Free guided tours weekdays between 10-4. Bus No. 6, Kiryat Moshe, Tel. 63391.
New Israeli Films: Latest Israeli films screened weekdays at 8.30 p.m. at Keren Hayasod Hall, Jewish Agency Building, Jerusalem. Admission free.
Jerusalem Ethical Zoo, Schneller Wood Romana. Tel. 53833. 7.30 a.m.-dusk.

TEL AVIV
Tel Aviv Museum, Adorot Shaul Hamelech. Exhibitions: Ya'akov Agam paintings, sculptures Zucka Hall, Haft Hall. Collections (Meyerhoff Hall, Jaglom Hall, Haft Hall No. 3). Posters by well known contemporary American artists. Hours: Sun.-Thur. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Fri. 10 a.m.-4 p.m. Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.

Helena Rubinstein Pavilion, 6 Rehov Tarsat. Graphic Art in Israel Today.
Museum Ha'aretz: Ramat Aviv. (1) Glass Museum; (2) Kadman Museum; (3) Ceramics Museum; (4) Museum of Science and Technology; (5) Museum of Ethnography and Folklore; (6) Alpiat Museum (7) Nechushtan Pavilion; (8) Tel-Qanite Excavations: Open: Sun., Mon., Tues., Thurs. 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; Wed. 10.00 a.m.-5.00 p.m.; Fri. 10.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m.; Sat. 10.00 a.m.-2.00 p.m.; (9) Museum of Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Yafo, 10 Rehov Miralim Shikma Open: as above; (10) Museum of the History of Tel Aviv-Yafo, 27 Rehov Binlik. Open: Sun., Mon., Tues., Thurs. 9.00 a.m.-5.00 p.m.; Wed. 9.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m.; Fri. 9.00 a.m.-1 p.m.
Conducted Tours: —
Tel Aviv University
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The Israel National Opera

SPECIAL EVENING with all opera artists
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Free admission for soldiers

Tuesday Assembly point at University — 10.30 a.m. Public Relations Dept. — 25, Tel. 80. Free transportation on Mondays and Wednesdays from hotel: 8.30 a.m. — Tadmor, Sharon, Accadia, Valador, 10 a.m. — Sar, Zark, Deborah, Adi, Mirabai Women's Organization of America and Canada, 16, 18 Rehov Day Ha, Tel Aviv call Tel. 22017, 28100; Jerusalem, 22340, 52108; Haifa, 6463; Beer-sheva, 8171.

ORT ISRAEL: for visits please contact: ORT Tel Aviv, Tel. 76328; ORT Jerusalem, Tel. 23375; ORT Haifa, Tel. 63000; ORT Netanya, Tel. 22922.
National Religious Women's Organization Mirabai and Hapool Hamirabai Women in Israel, 188 Rehov Ibn Gvirol, Tel Aviv; call Tel. 02-7888, 03-40316, Jerusalem Tel. 02-3028, 02-3823. Mondays, Wednesdays guided tours through New Sara Herzog Complex, Bnei Brak.

Mostes Hapoolat: Pioneer Women's Courtesy Tours Sunday through Thursday 9 a.m. Tel Aviv, Histadrut Bldg., 98 Rehov Aralocorov, Tel. 28111; Jerusalem Beit Elchev, Rehov Elazar Shmuel, Katamon, Tel. 31618; Haifa Community Centre, 14 Rehov Zabal, Kiryat Shikma, Tel. 62284. Phone for reservations, Wiza Tourist Club, 118 Rehov Hayarkon, Tel. 23280, 5 a.m.-2 p.m.
Canadian Hadassah-WIZO Open, 118 Hayarkon, Tel. 22068, 5 a.m.-2 p.m. Hadassah Club, 80 Rehov Hayarkon, Tel. 50089.

HAIFA
Hadassah Club, Youth Aliya office, 209 Rehov Hamechinim, Tel. 64261, 64476.
UPHIVOT
Tourists interested in visiting the Weizmann Institute of Science should phone the Visitors' Section, Tel. 03-951741, ext. 597, between 8.30 a.m. and 1 p.m.

SATURDAY
Organ Music by Philip Regoy every Saturday at 11.00 a.m. Y.M.C.A. Auditorium. Public welcome.

לחובות עתקדנצ

30 Rehov Ibn Gvirol, Tel Aviv
Saturday, November 10 at 11.11 a.m. 11.11 Series

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Works by Bach, Gabrieli, Brahms, Praelorius and others

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This week at the Tel Aviv Museum

27-28 Adorot Shaul Hamelech

EXHIBITIONS

THE NEW BUILDING (27 Adorot Shaul Hamelech)
★ YAACOV AGAM — Sculptures, Paintings (Zack's Hall, Haft Hall).

★ POSTERS FROM THE U.S.A.
Posters by the most well known contemporary American artists, loaned to the Tel Aviv Museum by the U.S. Cultural Center (Graphic Hall).

★ THE MUSEUM COLLECTIONS
(Meyerhoff Hall, Jaglom Hall, Haft No. 3)

THE HELENA RUBINSTEIN PAVILION
(8 Tarsat St.)

★ GRAPHIC ART IN ISRAEL TODAY
The exhibition is part of the celebrations for Israel's 25th anniversary in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Culture.

THE HELENA RUBINSTEIN ART LIBRARY (New Building)
Open: Sunday-Thursday: 10 a.m.-4 p.m.; Friday: 10 a.m.-1 p.m.

CONCERT

(Leon and Mathilde Recanat Auditorium)

Saturday, Nov. 10 7 p.m. Hrach Edon — Alexander Tamir (Duo Pianist) and The Jerusalem Soloists
HAIFA: 2 Concerts by the 2 Piano and Strings (C and C) MENDELSSOHN: Delet

FILM

Nov. 13 Tuesday, 7 p.m. A COUNTESS FROM HONG KONG (1907)
Director: Charlie Chaplin
With: Marion Brande, Sophia Loren

VISITING HOURS (both buildings)
Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday: 10 a.m.-5 p.m.
Friday: 10 a.m.-3 p.m. Saturday: 6 p.m.-10 p.m.
Subscription Tickets for the Series of Lectures on Contemporary Art available at the office of the Friends of the Tel Aviv Museum
SOLDIER IN UNIFORM ADMITTED TO THE MUSEUM FREE
Tickets for Events and Concerts available at the Museum Ticket Office; for concerts, also at Union, 118 Rehov Dizengoff.

Israel Theatres

Haifa Municipal Theatre

DIFFICULT
A kind of comedy "I enjoyed this play"
Dr. H. Ganso, "Ha'aretz"
Tomorrow, Nov. 10, 8 p.m.
Mital Omant
Sun., Nov. 18, 8 p.m.

Mon., Nov. 19, 8 p.m.
Tues., Nov. 20, 8 p.m.
Haifa LAB
TREATMENTS
Director: Oded Kotler
"Appl. directed" Dr. A. Fossenstein, "Ha'aretz"

Haifa Sun., Nov. 11, 8 p.m.
Mon., Nov. 12, 8 p.m.
Tues., Nov. 13, 8 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 14, 8 p.m.
Thurs., Nov. 15, 8 p.m.
IN THE ARMY
Municipal theatre's entertainment programme
Tonight, Nov. 8, Somewhere in Israel

The Cameri Theatre

AS YOU LIKE IT
Shakespearean comedy
Tomorrow, Nov. 10, 8.30 p.m.
Sun., Nov. 11, 8.30 p.m.
Mon., Nov. 12, 8.30 p.m.

JACOBY AND LEIDENTAIL (temporary name)
Tomorrow, Nov. 11, 8.30 p.m.
Tel Aviv, Tzavta

Soon THE ALCHEMIST
by Ben Jonson
MOBILE HIGH
Cameri's entertainment programme
Sun., Nov. 11, Zahal

Habimah

SHALOM SHALOM BUT NO PEACE
A musical, after Yehoshua Sar-Yosof
Adaption: Dan Almagor and Daniel Gidron
Music: Pauli Schatzman
Tel Aviv, Large Hall
Sat., Nov. 10, 7.00 p.m.

Sun., Nov. 11, Zahal Tel Aviv, Large Hall
Mon., Nov. 12, 5.00 p.m.
Tues., Nov. 13, 5.00 p.m.

Wed., Nov. 14, Zahal
Thurs., Nov. 15, Zahal Tel Aviv, Large Hall
Sat., Nov. 17, 7.00 p.m.
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Sat., Nov. 17, 8.30 p.m.
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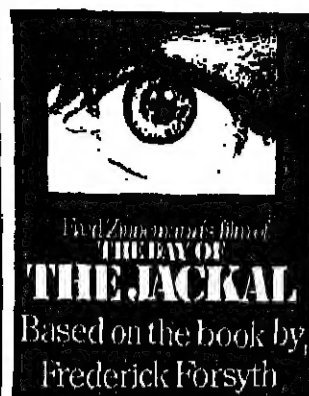
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SUSAN GEORGE
7.15 - 9.30

EDEN Tel. 57450
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SHOR
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Distribution: Noah Film
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DUSTIN HOFFMAN
Alfredo Alfredo
Till Divorce
Do Us Part

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Starring:
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CAROL KERR
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Play It Again,
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BRUCE LEE
JOHN SAXON
in an extraordinary film
Enter the Dragon
Cinemascope-Colour
4.30, 7.15, 9.30

DRIVE-IN CINEMA
Tel. 77177
FIRST SHOW
at 7.15 p.m.
Hilarious Comedy for all
the family

* SHIRLEY JONES
* TONY HANDALL
FLUFFY

SECOND SHOW
AGATHA CHRISTIE
THE ENDLESS
NIGHT

ON SAT. 10.11 ONLY
JULIE ANDREWS
* PAUL NEWMAN
in ALFRED HITCHCOCK'S

THE TORN
CURTAIN

MIDNIGHT SHOW
11.11 ONLY
* MARLON BRANDO
* ANTHONY QUINN
VIVA ZAPATA

GORDON Tel. 244573
8th week
LE GRAND
BLOND
AVEO UNE
OHAUSSURE
NOIRE

YVES ROBERT
FRANK RICHARD
4.30, 7.15, 9.30

HOD Tel. 226226
16th week
* STEVE McQUEEN
* ALI McGRAW
THE GETAWAY

Directed by: Sam Peckinpah
National General Films
Distribution: Noah Film
4.30, 7.15, 9.30

LIBOR Tel. 280773
8th week
80 Rehov Ibn Gvirol
DUSTIN HOFFMAN
Alfredo Alfredo
Till Divorce
Do Us Part

Directed by: Pietro Garai
Starring:
STEFANIA SANDRELLI
in English
in colour

MAXIM Tel. 287457
8th week
Arato Film
DEVIL AND
ANGEL
4.30, 7.15, 9.30

OPHIR Tel. 618821
Second Week
JIM BROWN
MARTIN LANDAU
"BLACK GUNN"

4.30, 7.15, 9.30
For adults only

GAT Tel. 287888
8th week
PETE N' TILLIE
WALTER MATHEW
CAROL KERR
4.30, 7.15, 9.30

ONNA MACKINAM
AL PACINO
SCARECROW

Directed by: Stanley Kubrick
in colour

TEL AVIV Tel. 281181
4.30, 7.15, 9.30
THE BATTLE
FOR THE
PLANET OF
THE APES

RODY MACDOUGALL
OLIVIER ATENENS
NATALIE TRANDY

Haifa Cinemas

Commencing Saturday, Nov. 10 at 7.00 p.m. and 9.00 p.m.
Daily at 7.00 and 9.00 p.m. - Matinee at 4.00 p.m.

AMPHITHEATRE Tel. 664018
2nd week
BRUCE LEE
JOHN SAXON
in an extraordinary
Karate film
ENTER THE
DRAGON

In Cinemascope and Colour
Daily at 1.15, 7.00, 9.00
For adults only

ARNON Tel. 664018
Israel Premiere
simultaneously with
Tel Aviv
HELMUT BERGER
in an outstanding
production
THE WOUNDED
BUTTERFLY
for adults only
Technicolor

ATZMON Tel. 668008
A great suspense hit
THE CHASE
starring
MARLON BRANDO and
ANGIE DICKENSON
in Technicolor

BEIT ROTHSCHILD
JE T'AIME
JE T'AIME
perfs. at Sun., Tues., Wed.
Thursday at 8.45

SEVEN BRIDES
FOR SEVEN
BROTHERS
Monday 8.45, 9.00
Max et les
Ferrailleurs
Tuesday 8.45

CHEN Tel. 666272
2nd week
LEE VAN CLEEVE
in an exciting film
THE
MAGNIFICENT
SEVEN RIDE
with
STEPHANIE POWERS

MIRON Tel. 663008
A karate suspense hit
QUEEN OF FIST
in Technicolor

RAMAT GAN Tel. 720708
2nd week
7.15, 9.30
CLINT EASTWOOD
HIGH PLAINS
DRIFTER

HADAR Tel. 728822
4, 7.15, 9.30
The Summertime
Killer
with
KARL MALDEN
SAF VALLONE
OLIVIA RUSSEY
CHRIS MITCHELL
Adults only

LILI Tel. 715, 9.30
THE POSEIDON
ADVENTURE

OASIS Tel. 715, 9.30
A film of tension
THE CHINESE
BOXER

ORDEA Tel. 721720
4, 7.15, 9.30
SHAFT IN
AFRICA
RICHARD ROUNDTREE

RAMA Tel. 721912
7.15, 9.30
BLOODY MAMA
Shelly Winters

RAMAT GAN Tel. 794504
3rd week
RYAN O'NEAL
JACQUETTE BISHOP
WARREN OATES
THE THIEF
WHO CAME
TO DINNER

Color by DeLuxe
Celebrating Warner Bros.
50th Anniversary
A Warner Communications
Company
7.15, 9.30

DAVID Tel. 924021
Sun, Mon, Tues, Wed
at 7.30 only
HELEN MIRRELL
GREGORY PECK
HOW THE WEST
WAS WON

Petah Tikva Tel. 917480
7.15, 9.30
C.O. & Co.
ANNE MARGARET
Matine at 2.30 LOTTERY

ALFREDO, ALFREDO, TILL DIVORCE
DO US PART - On best com-
edy in an odd, connection with some
clever twists.